

GRAMMATICAL PARALLELISM AND ITS RUSSIAN FACET*

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I

When approaching the linguistic problem of grammatical parallelism one is irresistibly impelled to quote again and again the pathbreaking study written exactly one hundred years ago by the juvenile Gerard Manley Hopkins:¹

The artificial part of poetry, perhaps we shall be right to say all artifice, reduces itself to the principle of parallelism. The structure of poetry is that of continuous parallelism, ranging from the technical so-called Parallelisms of Hebrew poetry and the antiphons of Church music to the intricacy of Greek or Italian or English verse.

We have learned the suggestive etymology of the terms PROSE and VERSE—the former, *oratio prosa* < *prorsa* < *proversa* ‘speech turned straightforward’, and the latter, *versus* ‘return’. Hence we must consistently draw all inferences from the obvious fact that on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists in recurrent returns. Phonemic features and sequences, both morphologic and lexical, syntactic and phraseological units, when occurring in metrically or strophically corresponding positions, are necessarily subject to the conscious or subconscious questions whether, how far, and in what respect the positionally corresponding entities are mutually similar.

Those poetic patterns where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high preference appear to be widespread in the languages of the world, and they are particularly gratifying both for the study of poetic language and for linguistic analysis in general. Such traditional types of canonic parallelism offer us an insight into the various forms of relationship among the different aspects of language and answer the pertinent question: what kindred grammatical or phonological categories may function as equivalent within the given pattern? We can infer that such categories share a common denominator in the linguistic code of the respective speech community.

Of these systems the biblical PARALLELISMUS MEMBRORUM was the first to attract the attention of Western scholars. In ‘The Preliminary Dissertation’ to his translation of Isaiah, first published in 1778, Robert Lowth laid down the foundations of a systematic inquiry into the verbal texture of ancient Hebrew poetry, and adopted the term ‘parallelism’ for poetics:

The correspondence of one Verse, or Line, with another, I call Parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in Sense; or familiar to it in the form of Grammatical Construction; these I call Parallel Lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding Lines, Parallel Terms.

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¹ ‘Poetic Diction’, *The journals and papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. by Humphry House and Graham Storey, 84 (London, 1959).

Parallel Lines may be reduced to Three sorts; Parallels Synonymous, Parallels Antithetic, and Parallels Synthetic ... It is to be observed that the several sorts of Parallels are perpetually mixed with one another; and this mixture gives a variety and beauty to the composition.²

'Of the three different sorts of Parallels' viewed by Lowth 'every one hath its peculiar character and proper effect' (xxvii). Synonymous lines 'correspond one to another by expressing the same sense in different, but equivalent terms; when a Proposition is delivered, and it is immediately repeated, in the whole or in part, the expression being varied, but the sense entirely, or nearly the same' (xi). Two antithetic lines 'correspond with one another by an Opposition ... sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only. Accordingly the degrees of Antithesis are various; from an exact contraposition of word to word through the whole sentence, down to a general disparity, with something of a contrariety, in the two propositions' (xix). To these two types the author opposes purely grammatical congruences, which he calls 'Synthetic or Constructive' and 'where the Parallelism consists only in the similar form of Construction'. The verses are bound by a mere 'correspondence between different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative' (xxi).

Newman's and Popper's painstaking critical survey³ paved the way for the recent cardinal revision of pivotal questions bound up with biblical parallelism, its essence and history.⁴ The last decades of intensive investigation have thrown a new light on the close relationship between the metrico-strophic form of Hebrew and Ugaritic poetic writings and their 'repetitive parallelism' (the term used in the current Semitic studies). The prosodic and verbal organization which appears chiefly in the most archaic biblical poems and the Canaanite epics proves to go back to an ancient Canaanite tradition with certain Akkadian connections. The reconstruction and philological interpretation of early biblical poetic remains is a spectacular achievement of modern research. Now, in the light of the work done, the structure of parallelism which underlies biblical and Ugaritic poetry

² Robert Lowth, *Isaiah*² x-xi (London, 1779). Cf. also his *De sacra poesia hebraeorum* (Oxford, 1753). Lowth's doctrine inspired not only further research but also poetry. Christopher Smart's parallelistic poem of 1759-63 'represents an attempt to adapt to English verse some of the principles of Hebrew verse expounded by Bishop Robert Lowth', as William H. Bond points out in his edition of Smart's *Jubilate agno* 20 (London, 1954).

³ Louis I. Newman and William Popper, *Studies in biblical parallelism*, Parts 1, 2 (University of California, 1918).

⁴ See particularly Harold L. Ginsberg, 'The Rebellion and Death of Ba'lu', *Orientalia* (N. S.) 5:2 (1936); idem, 'The Legend of King Keret', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Supplementary Studies, Nos. 2-3 (1946); William F. Albright, 'The Old Testament and the Canaanite language and literature', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 7 (1945); idem, 'A catalogue of early Hebrew lyric poems (Psalm LXVIII)', *The Hebrew Union College Annual*, 23:1 (1950-1); idem, 'The Psalm of Habakkuk', *Studies in Old Testament prophecy presented to Theodore H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1950); Frank M. Cross and David N. Freedman, 'The blessing of Moses', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 47:3 (1948); Frank M. Cross, 'Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 117 (1950); Stanley Gevirtz, *Patterns in the early poetry of Israel* (Chicago, 1963).

requires a rigorous linguistic analysis, and the seemingly infinite variety of extant parallels must yield to a precise and comprehensive typology. Lowth's bold yet premature effort demands to be resumed on a new level.

His example served as a model for the first Western attempt to examine another ancient literary tradition which has never abandoned parallelism as the cardinal poetic artifice. A paper 'On the poetry of the Chinese' read by J. F. Davis in 1829 at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society declared parallelism to be the most interesting feature in the construction of Chinese verse, 'as it presents a striking correspondence with what has been remarked of Hebrew poetry'.⁵ Davis quoted extensively the dissertation of Bishop Lowth, closely followed the latter's way of outlining three different kinds of correspondence, and observed that the third sort of parallel—which Lowth denominates as the synthetic or constructive—is by far the most common species of parallelism with the Chinese. Both other sorts 'are generally accompanied by this last—the correspondence of sense, whether it consist in equivalency or opposition, is almost always attended by correspondence of construction: the latter is often found without the former, while the converse seldom takes place. It pervades their poetry universally, forms its chief characteristic feature, and is the source of a great deal of its artificial beauty' (414 f.).⁶

These definitions and classificatory criteria underlie a number of later studies which aimed primarily at an adequate translation of Chinese poetic works.⁷ Today a need for more precise and minute description has become obvious. Hightower has translated two Chinese pieces from the fifth and sixth centuries which are composed in the so-called 'parallel prose' or, strictly speaking, in verses of a fluid, sliding meter, and studied their organizing principle.⁸ Aware of the necessity for discerning all the varieties of parallelism, the scholar consults the native Chinese tradition of studies in this field, which surpass the foreign observations in both age and acuity. In particular he cites Kūkai's ninth-century compilation from older Chinese sources, *Bunkyō hifuron*, a treatise on literary theory which enumerates twenty-nine modes of parallelism.⁹ Hightower himself operates with six types of Simple Parallelism—reiteration, synonymy, antonymy, 'likes' (lexical and grammatical similitude),¹⁰ 'unlikes' (grammatical

⁵ John Francis Davis, 'Poeseos Sinensis Comentariorum', *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2.410–19 (1830).

⁶ Lowth also brought to notice that in biblical pairs of lines which are neither equivalent nor opposite in terms 'there is a parallelism equally apparent, and almost as striking, which arises from the similar form and equality of the lines, from the correspondence of the members and the construction' (xxv).

⁷ See e.g. Marie Jean Léon Hervay-Saint-Denis, *Poésies de l'époque Thang*, traduites du chinois ... avec une étude sur l'art poétique en Chine (Paris, 1862); Gustave Schlegel, *La loi du parallélisme en style chinois démontrée par la préface du 'Si-yü-ki'* (Leiden, 1896); B. Tchang Tchong-Ming, *Le parallélisme dans les vers du Chen King* (Changhai-Paris, 1937).

⁸ James Robert Hightower, 'Some characteristics of parallel prose', *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren* (Copenhagen, 1959).

⁹ Professor Hightower has graciously provided me with a detailed English summary of Kūkai's list.

¹⁰ Cf. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 1. §750: similitudo (Munich, 1960).

without lexical similitude), and 'formal pairs' ('far-fetched linkages' in lexical semantics without grammatical similitude). He also broaches the problems of Complex Parallelism and the metrical, grammatical, and phonic parallels.

P. A. Boodberg's Sinological 'Cedules' dealing with diverse aspects of parallelism—grammatical, lexical, prosodic—and with the polysemantic load of the matched words and lines, especially in connection with the intricacies of translating Chinese verses, are penetrating prolegomena to a still missing systematic linguistic inquiry into the framework of this magnificent poetic tradition. Boodberg has shown that a function of the second line of a couplet is 'to give us the clue for the construction of the first' and to bring out the dormant primary meaning of the confronted words; he has made clear that 'parallelism is not merely a stylistic device of formularistic syntactical duplication; it is intended to achieve a result reminiscent of binocular vision, the superimposition of two syntactical images in order to endow them with solidity and depth, the repetition of the pattern having the effect of binding together syntagms that appear at first rather loosely aligned.'¹¹

This is basically tantamount to the evaluation of biblical parallelism propounded by Herder in his famed response to Lowth's Latin volume: 'Die beiden Glieder bestärken, erheben, bekräftigen einander.'¹² Norden's attempt to disunite both poetic canons and to oppose the Chinese 'Parallelismus der Form' to the Hebrew 'Parallelismus des Gedankens', though frequently cited, is hardly tenable.¹³ The grammatical and lexical congruences of Chinese verses are not inferior to biblical parallelism in their semantic charge. As demonstrated by Chmielewski, China's linguistic parallelism may be 'matched by that of the logical structure' and assumes a 'potentially positive role in spontaneous logical thinking'.¹⁴ According to another noted Polish Sinologist, Jabłoński, the vari-form parallelism which is the most salient feature of Chinese verbal style displays a harmonious, intimate relationship 'avec la conception chinoise du monde, considéré comme un jeu de deux principes alternants dans le temps et opposés dans l'espace. Il faudrait dire plutôt des sexes que des principes, car on croit plutôt voir le monde divisé en des paires d'objets, d'attributs, d'aspects à la fois accouplés et opposés.'¹⁵ Norden had based his division on an impression of a predominantly metaphoric parallelism in biblical poetry and on the familiar prejudice that the metonymic correspondences—such as partition and enumeration of particulars—which link 'constructively parallel' lines (Lowth, xxiii, Jabłoński, 27 ff.) are merely cumulative and not integrative.¹⁶

¹¹ Peter A. Boodberg, 'On crypto-parallelism in Chinese poetry' and 'Syntactical metaplasia in stereoscopic parallelism', *Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology*, # 001-540701 and 017-541210 (Berkeley, Calif., 1954-5).

¹² Johann Gottfried Herder, *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie* 23 (Dessau, 1782).

¹³ Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* 2.816 f. (Darmstadt, 1958).

¹⁴ Janusz Chmielewski, 'Notes on early Chinese logic', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 28:287-111 (1965).

¹⁵ Witold Jabłoński, *Les 'Siao-ha(i-eu)l-yu' de Pékin—Un essai sur la poésie populaire en Chine* 20 f. (Cracow, 1935).

¹⁶ Cf. R. Jakobson and M. Halle, *Fundamentals of language* 76 ff. (The Hague, 1956).

The symmetrical 'carmen-style' akin to the *parallelismus membrorum* is attested by numerous instances in the Veda, and Gonda's comprehensive monograph scrupulously examines the typical repetitive devices connected with this mode of expression.¹⁷ The ancient Indic tendency toward symmetric correspondences, however, cannot be equated with the above-cited patterns of canonical, pervasive parallelism.

II

Grammatical parallelism belongs to the poetic canon of numerous folk patterns. Gonda, 28 ff., referred to divers countries in different parts of the world with prevalently 'binary structures' of grammatically and lexically corresponding lines in traditional prayers, exorcisms, magic songs, and other forms of oral verse, and brought to the reader's attention in particular the litanies and ballads of Nias (west of Sumatra), 'expressed in the form of a pair of parallel, highly synonymic members'.¹⁸ But our information about the distribution of parallelism in the folklore of the world and its character in various languages is still sparse and fragmentary, and hence, for the time being, we must remain confined primarily to the results of inquiry into the parallelistic songs of the Ural-Altaic area.

In his fundamental monograph about parallelism in Finnish-Karelian folk poetry, Steinitz has traced the beginnings of scholarly interest in this problem.¹⁹ It is noteworthy indeed that the earliest references to Finnish poetic parallelism proceeded from a comparison with biblical poetry and that the first statements about the similarity of these two patterns by Cajanus and Juslenius appeared long before Lowth's *Hebraica*.²⁰ Despite the growing enthusiasm for Finland's folklore, from the beginning to the middle of the nineteenth century, its verbal structure usually dropped out of the scope of local and Western scholarly interests, whereas Longfellow, through Anton Schiefner's German translation of the *Kalevala* (1852), grasped the parallelistic style of the original and applied it in his *Song of Hiawatha* (1855).

In the sixties the essence of the Finnish poetic language re-entered the field of investigation. The grammatical composition of the *Kalevala*'s parallelistic distichs was plotted in Ahlqvist's dissertation 'Finnish poetics from the linguistic standpoint', at a time when no other system of parallelism had undergone a

¹⁷ Jan Gonda, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959).

¹⁸ See W. L. Steinhart, *Niassche teksten* (Bandung, 1937).

¹⁹ Wolfgang Steinitz, 'Der Parallelismus in der finnisch-karelischen Volksdichtung', *FF Communications*, No. 115, §4 (Helsinki, 1934).

²⁰ Erik Cajanus, *Linguarum ebraeae et finnicae convenientia* 12 f. (Åbo, 1697); Daniel Juslenius, 'Oratio de convenientia linguae Fennicae cum Hebraea et Graeca', *Schwedische Bibliothek* 1.163 (1728): 'Inprimis notabilis est Hebraicorum et Fennorum carminum concentus, consistens qua poësin in Periodi cujusvis divisione in duo Hemistichia, quorum posterius variata phrasi, sensum cum priori continet eundem, vel etiam *emphatikóteron*. Si vero contingit plura poni membra, aut partium est enumeratio, aut gradatio orationis.' These observations were further developed by Henrik Gabriel Porthan, *De poesi fennica* (Helsinki, 1766-8).

similar treatment.²¹ But Steinitz was the first to succeed, seventy years later, in completing a thoroughly scientific 'grammar of parallelism', as the author himself defined the task of his inquiry into the epic, lyric, and magic songs of the famed Finnish-Karelian singer Arhippa Perttunen (op.cit., xii). This is a pioneer work not only in the Finno-Ugric field but also, and foremost, in the method of approach to the structural analysis of grammatical parallelism. The syntactic and morphologic aspects of this poetic pattern are succinctly outlined in Steinitz' monograph, whereas their interconnections and the diverse semantic associations between the paralleled lines and their components are only glimpsed. The investigator revealed the variety of grammatical relations between the paralleled verses, but the interconnection of these structurally different distichs and their characteristic functions within a broader context calls for a self-contained and integral treatment of a given song in its entirety, as a consequence of which the presumably unpaired, isolated lines would also obtain a new and more nuanced interpretation as to their place and role.

Stimulated by Steinitz' research,²² Austerlitz, in his careful study of Ostyak and Vogul metrics, pays chief attention to 'parallel structures', but where Steinitz' work of 1934 left questions open, Austerlitz' analysis of Ob-Ugrian parallelism was, as he says, 'automatically restricted to the formal features of the material', and ergo not supposed to 'include semantics or any domain beyond grammar'.²³ The likewise automatic confinement of the analysis to the immediate contextual vicinity creates an artificial chasm between the cohesive and allegedly isolated lines, which could have been avoided 'if the ordering of lines within the structure of a poem as a whole had dominated the presentation', according to a reviewer's sound suggestion.²⁴ Austerlitz' remarks on the Hungarian vestiges of poetic parallelism (125) and Steinitz' references to a similar pattern in Western Finnic and Mordvinian oral poetry (§3) allow a surmise of a common Finno-Ugric or even Uralic tradition, as Lotz suggests in his analysis of a Sayan-Samoyed song.²⁵

Oral poetry of diverse Turkic peoples displays a rigorous parallelistic canon which is probably of common origin, as Kowalski's and Žirmunskij's broad surveys persuasively testify.²⁶ The earliest record of these folk epics, the Oghuz

²¹ August Ahlqvist, *Suomalainen runousoppi kielelliseltä kannalta* (Helsinki, 1863); a revised and improved version—'Suomalainen runo-oppi'—entered into the author's *Suomen kielen rakennus* 1 (Helsinki, 1877).

²² Op. cit. and *Ostjakische Volksdichtung und Erzählungen aus zwei Dialekten*, 1 (Tartu, 1939), 2:1 (Stockholm, 1941).

²³ Robert Austerlitz, 'Ob-Ugrie metrics', *FF communications*, No. 174.8 (Helsinki, 1958). Cf. its reviewer's 'procedural query' against the eschewing of 'semantic criteria' in the 'analysis of structural recurrence and parallelism': John L. Fischer, *Journal of American Folklore* 72.339 f. (1960).

²⁴ Dell H. Hymes, *Anthropos* 55.575 (1960).

²⁵ John Lotz, 'Kamassian Verse', *Journal of American Folklore* 67.374-6 (1954).

²⁶ Tadeusz Kowalski, 'Ze studjów nad formą poezji ludów tureckich', *Mémoires de la Commission orientale de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres*, No. 5 (Cracow, 1921); V. M. Žirmunskij, 'Ritmiko-sintaksičeskij parallelizm kak osnova drevnetjurkskogo narodnogo epičeskogo stixa', *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 13:4 (1964), and a German version of the latter paper: Viktor Schirmunski, 'Syntaktischer Parallelismus und rhythmische Bindung

'Kitab-i Dede Qorkut', belongs to the sixteenth century.²⁷ The older the features we observe in the cultural pattern of a Turkic people, the more sustained is the parallelistic groundwork of the native oral poetry, especially the epic. Although this Turkic compulsory matrix has much in common with the Finno-Ugric systems, the differences are equally striking. An intensive structural analysis of the parallelism as it functions in the folklore of single Turkic peoples is a pressing linguistic task.

In an account illustrated by numerous examples and modeled upon Steinitz' classification of the Finnish-Karelian material, Poppe has shown that parallelism is common likewise to the oral poetry of all Mongolian peoples,²⁸ although this feature has generally been ignored by students of Mongolian literature and folklore. Thus most of the vast Ural-Altaic area displays an oral tradition founded on grammatical parallelism, and both the convergent and the divergent traits must be singled out by a deep comparative study of its regional variants.

III

The only living oral tradition in the Indo-European world which uses grammatical parallelism as its basic mode of concatenating successive verses is the Russian folk poetry, both songs and recitatives.²⁹ This constructive principle of Russian folklore was first pointed out in a paper devoted to the *Kalevala* and published anonymously as an item of 'Miscellany' in a popular Petersburg periodical of 1842 with an eloquent subtitle: 'The identity of foundations in Hebrew, Chinese, Scandinavian and Finnish versification, as well as in the verse art of Russian folklore—Parallelism.'³⁰ The Finnish *Kanteletar* is declared (59) to bear a close resemblance to the Russian folk songs 'in rhythm and constitution' (*ladom i sklodom*).

im alttürkischen epischen Vers', *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung—Steinitz Festschrift* (Berlin, 1965).

²⁷ V. M. Žirmunskij, 'Oguzskij geroičeskij èpos i "Kniga Korkuta"', *Kniga moego deda Korkuta: oguzskij geroičeskij èpos*, ed. by Žirmunskij and A. N. Kononov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1962).

²⁸ Nikolaus Poppe, 'Der Parallelismus in der epischen Dichtung der Mongolen', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 30.195-228 (1958).

²⁹ In the folklore of other Slavic peoples parallelism occupies a much more restricted place, notwithstanding its relevance in certain poetic genres such as the Ukrainian *dumy* or South Slavic lyric songs; cf. Herbert Peukert, *Serbokroatische und makedonische Volkslyrik* 146-58 (Berlin, 1961).

³⁰ 'Kalevala, finskaja jazyčeskaja èpopeja', *Biblioteka dlja čtenija* 55:7.33-65 (1842). In surveying the content of Finnish folk songs and noting the difficulty of their translation, this article, as Mrs. Dagmar Kiparsky has kindly brought to our attention, reproduces Xavier Marmier's outline 'De la poésie finlandaise', *Revue des Deux Mondes* 32.68-96 (1842); but the latter gives no comparative study of parallelism and confines his observations on this Finnish device to the following brief remark: 'Ces vers sont, en outre, composés en grande partie par un procédé de parallélisme, c'est-à-dire que le second vers de chaque strophe répète en d'autres termes ou représente avec d'autres nuances la pensée ou l'image tracée dans le premier, et il y a parfois dans ces deux vers, qui sont comme le double écho d'un même sentiment, qui se fortifient l'un par l'autre, et s'en vont sur la même ligne sans se confondre, un charme indéfinissable et impossible à rendre' (96).

The CONSTITUTION of the verse is quite the same as in archaic Russian songs ... Apparently hitherto nobody has taken notice of the extremely interesting fact that the CONSTITUTION of our folk songs belongs to the primeval human inventions in verbal music and is intimately connected, on the one hand, with poetics of the Scandinavian skalds and Finnic rhapsodes (*bjarmiskiz bajanov*) and, on the other, with the versification of the ancient Hebrews and of the contemporary Chinese. Until the learned verbal music, i.e. the takt measure, was introduced, ... two natural harmonic principles, PARALLELISM and ALLITERATION, were perhaps the universal basis of songcraft.³¹ The term 'parallelism' was first applied to the peculiar feature observed by commentators of the Bible in Hebrew versification, and meant that the second or third line of a strophe almost always presents an interpretation or a paraphrase or a simple repetition of a thought, figure, metaphor contained in the preceding verse or verses. Nowhere else could one find such splendid and opulent examples of this method as in our Russian songs, whose entire constitution is based on parallelism (60 f.)

The author adduces a few examples and comments on their partly metaphorical, partly synonymic aspect; he adds that such constructions, which might be drawn by the thousand from Russian folk poetry, form its very essence. 'It is neither vagary nor barbarism but a spirited observance of an inner, indissoluble bond between thought and sound, or perhaps rather an unconscious, instinctive, spontaneous sense for a musical logic of thoughts and for a corresponding musical logic of sounds' (61 f.) This paper is particularly memorable, since it belongs to an epoch of general inattention toward Finnish parallelism, which in 1835 remained omitted even in Elias Lönnrot's preface to his first edition of the *Kalevala* (cf. Steinitz, 17).

Thirty years later, Olesnickij, writing on rhythm and meter in the Old Testament, while discussing Lowth's theory of the parallelismus membrorum, referred to other oriental instances of the same architectonic design, observable in Egyptian inscriptions, in many Vedic passages, and with particular consistency in Chinese poetry. He concluded his survey with a cursory remark on 'the very rich parallelism encountered in each of our folk songs and byliny', exemplified by two longish quotations from Russian historical songs.³²

In his detailed studies on the constitution of the language of Russian folk-songs, Šafranov³³ attacked Olesnickij's view that parallelism does not pertain to poetic forms (202.233 ff.) and returned to the anonym's distinction between the rhythm (*lad*) and the constitution (*sklad*) of the Russian song, assigning to the latter rhetorical and to the former musical foundations (256 ff.), and insisting on the relative autonomy of each factor (205.99). In Russian musical folklore he found two joint constitutive features—repetition and parallelism, the latter almost as pertinent as in ancient Hebrew lyrics (205.84 ff.)—and drafted a brief and approximative linguistic enumeration of diverse parallelistic patterns (101–4). Štokmar's objection that in some genres of Russian folk songs, particularly in the byliny, 'repetitions and parallelism do not play such a consider-

³¹ The Scandinavian analogue cited apparently concerns alliteration only.

³² A. A. Olesnickij, 'Rifm i metr v vetхозavetnoj počzii', *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii* 3.564–6 (1872).

³³ S. N. Šafranov, 'O sklade narodno-russkoj pesennoj reči, rassmatrivaemoj v svjazi s napevami', *Žurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosvěščenija* 199–205:2 (1878–9).

able part' is mistaken, since precisely in the structure of the epics and in the concatenation of their verses the role of parallelism is dominant.³⁴

Strange as it seems, during the more than eighty-five years that separate us from Šafranov's draft, no systematic effort has been made to fathom the system of Russian grammatical parallelism. In Žirmunskij's monograph on the history and theory of rime the chapter 'Rime in the bylina' surveys the homoioteleuton, a typical by-product of morphologic, particularly epiphoric, parallelism, out of touch with the over-all problems of the parallelistic texture in Russian epic folklore, although it is only in this context that terminal phonemic correspondences receive a thorough explication.³⁵ The statistics of rhymed lines (264) are hardly informative without numerical data about all forms of parallelism in the byliny. I have demonstrated the diverse semantic interrelations between two parallel clauses from Russian wedding songs.³⁶ Synonymy in parallel verses was touched upon in Evgen'eva's recent book on the language of oral poetry.³⁷ But as a rule current writing on Russian folklore still underrates or disregards the functions performed by grammatical parallelism in the semantic and formal structure of oral epics and lyrics. Before attempting a methodical treatise on the whole of this subject, with particular reference to the specific aspects it acquires in different poetic genres, I must examine the complex parallelistic texture of a single song in order to observe the concrete interplay of the multiform devices, each with its proper task and aim.

IV

The famous eighteenth-century collection of Russian folk songs, chiefly epics, written down somewhere in Western Siberia by or from an otherwise unknown Kirša Danilov includes a succinct musical text '*Ox v gore žit' nekručinnu byt'*' ('Oh, to live in grief, to be unchagrined') which is transliterated here, without the spelling vacillations of the manuscript and provided with a translation which is as literal as possible.³⁸

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|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. A i góre góre—goreván'ice! | And grief grief—little grieving! |
| 2. A v góre žit'—nekručinnu býť, | And to live in grief—to be unchagrined, |
| 3. Nagómu xodít'—ne stydíťisja. | To walk naked—not to be ashamed. |

³⁴ M. P. Štokmar, *Issledovanija v oblasti russkogo narodnogo stizosloženija* 116 (Moscow 1952).

³⁵ V. M. Žirmunskij, *Rifma, ee istorija i teorija* 263–96 (St. Petersburg, 1923).

³⁶ R. Jakobson, 'Linguistics and poetics', *Style in language*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, 369 f. (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); idem, 'Poèzija grammatiki i grammatika poèzii', *Poetics Poetyka Poètika* 401 f. (Warsaw, 1961), which discusses a Russian folk parody of the parallelistic style ('Foma and Erëma') and the promotion of antithetic parallelism between lines into the pivot of a ballad plot ('Vasilij and Sofija').

³⁷ Anastasija P. Evgen'eva, *Očerki po jazyku russkoj ustnoj poèzii v zapisjax XVII–XX vv.* 277–81 (Leningrad, 1963).

³⁸ A. P. Evgen'eva and B. N. Putilov (ed.), *Drevnie rossijskie stizotvorenija sobrannye Kiršeju Danilovym* 256, 474 (Leningrad, 1958). Cf. the editors' commentaries on this collection and its only preserved copy, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, 514–65, 575–86.

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| 4. A i déneg nétu—pered dén'gami, | And (if) there is no money—(it is) before money, |
| 5. Pojavilas' grívna—pered zlými dní. | (If) a coin has appeared—(it is) before penury. |
| 6. Ne byvát' plešátomu kudrjávomu, | No way for a bald one to be curly, |
| 7. Ne byvát' guljáščemu bogátomu. | No way for an idle one to be rich. |
| 8. Ne otróstit' déreva suxovérxogo, | No way to grow a dead-topped tree, |
| 9. Ne otkórmít' kónja suxopárogo. | No way to fatten a withered horse. |
| 10. Ne utéšiti ditjá bez máteri, | No way to console a child without a mother, |
| 11. Ne skroít' atlásu bez mástera. | No way to cut satin without a master. |
| 12. A góre, góre goreván'ice, | And grief, grief—little grieving— |
| 13. A i lýkom góre podpojásalos', | And grief girded itself with bark, |
| 14. Močálami nógi izopútany. | The feet wound with bast. |
| 15. A já ot górja v temný lesá, | And I (ran) from grief to the dark forests, |
| 16. A góre <...> prežde vék zašél; | And grief came there beforehand; |
| 17. A já ot górja v počéstnoj pír, | And I (ran) from grief to an honorable feast, |
| 18. A góre zašél,—vperedí sidít; | And grief came there,—in front (he) sits; |
| 19. A já ot górja na carév kabák, | And I (ran) from grief to the tsar's tavern, |
| 20. A góre vstrečáet—píva taščít: | And grief meets (me),—(he) is drawing beer. |
| 21. Kák ja nág to stál, nasmejásja ón. | When I became naked, he jeered. |

The story of an ill-fated lad (or girl) persecuted by a personified, mythicized Grief is recounted in numerous Russian lyrico-epic songs, some predominantly epic and others lyric, like Kirša's version. Russian literature of the seventeenth century tried to efface the boundary which divided written literature from oral. Poetic texts, customarily transmitted only from mouth to mouth, were put on paper, and several hybrid works arose on the borderline between folklore and written literature, particularly the long 'Tale of Grief and Misfortune' (*Povešt' o Gore i Zločastii*), preserved in a single manuscript of the very late seventeenth century.³⁹ One can only agree with the students of this remarkable poem composed in the verse form of oral epics, and particularly with Ržiga, who compared in detail its text with folk songs about Grief,⁴⁰ that this *Povešt'* takes over from oral poetry the ancient motif of everlasting grief and transforms it into a complex artistic synthesis of bookmanship and folklore (314 f.) It is possible that the written *Tale* of the seventeenth century in turn produced a certain effect on the folk songs of this cycle, although all the properties which the *Povešt'* shares with some of these songs are typical of folklore poetics, and none of the bookish elements inherent in the manuscript of the seventeenth century are reflected in the oral epics or lyrics. Thus the supposition of the mighty influence exerted by folk poetry on the written tale is incomparably better founded than are surmises of any reverse infiltration.

In particular, Ržiga's assumption that Kirša's variant was a lyrical composition prompted by the *Povešt'* (313) is quite improbable. One can hardly agree that when this song coincides with the *Povešt'* the former proves to be 'an obvious derivative' from the latter. On the contrary, in the song the features shared with the *Povešt'* are organically linked with the entire context and based on traditional principles of oral poetics, whereas in the *Tale* they are much more sporadic and inconsistent, and the common passages are adapted to an alien context.

³⁹ See P. K. Simoni, *Povešt' o Gore i Zločastii* = *Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. I. Akad. Nauk* 83:1 (1907). My quotations refer to the text restored on pp. 74–88.

⁴⁰ V. F. Ržiga, 'Povešt' o Gore i Zločastii i pesni o Gore', *Slavia* 10 (1931).

The folklore formulas in question must have been borrowed by the seventeenth-century literati from the oral tradition. Some of these epigrammatic formulas entered also into the repertory of folk proverbs. Cf. verses 1 and 2 of the song with the proverb adduced by Dal': *V gore žit'—nekručinnu byt'; nagonu xodit'—ne soromit'sja*.⁴¹ Furthermore, Kirša's variant exhibits certain motifs shared with other folk songs of the same theme, yet missing in the *Povest'*. The parallelistic canon rigorously followed in these specimens of the grief folklore obviously suffers from the transfer of oral tradition into the frame of the written tale, and shows many gaps, heterogeneous retouches, and deviations from the customary forms of verses and their concatenation.⁴²

Hightower's delineation of Chinese parallelism may be applied to Russian folk poetry as well. In both languages the distich is the basic structural unit, and 'the first effect of the other varieties of parallelism is to reinforce the repeated pattern. It is on this underlying pattern or series of patterns that the more subtle forms of grammatical and phonic parallelism introduce their counterpoint, a series of stresses and strains' (op.cit., 61, 69). The typical feature of Chinese parallelistic texts analyzed by the quoted Sinologist—the occasional 'isolated single lines' which chiefly signal the beginning and end of an entire text or of its paragraphs—is likewise shared by Russian folk poetry, and by Kirša's song in particular. Hightower designates as a paragraph a larger structural unit 'which is significant both by marking stages in the development of a theme and also by determining to some extent the form of the couplets [distichs] which go to make it up.' Similar observations on pairless verses in the Finnish-Karelian runes at the beginning of songs or of their autonomous parts were made by Ahlqvist (177). According to Steinitz (§11), ten of nineteen epic *Kalevala* songs recorded in the 1830's from the foremost Karelian rhapsodist Arhippa Perttunen begin with a nonparallel line. In biblical poetry, particularly in the Psalms, 'single lines, or *monostichs*', as Driver states, 'are found but rarely, being generally used to express a thought with some emphasis at the beginning, or occasionally at the end, of a poem.'⁴³

Kirša's song contains 21 lines, three of which have no adjacent mate. Of these three lines, 1 begins the song and 21 ends it, while 12 opens the second paragraph, which is quite different from the first in both theme and grammatical texture. Actually lines 1 and 12, which carry the burden of the song, vary while still adhering to the parallelistic pattern of the entire composition: the introductory verse of the first paragraph does not cohere with any other line of the same paragraph, but is matched by the nearly identical opening of the next paragraph.

Moreover, these two lines display an internal grammatical parallelism of their hemistichs, a device shared by the intermediate lines, i.e. by all the lines of the

⁴¹ V. I. Dal', *Tolkovjy slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka*² 4.276 (St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1882).

⁴² There is a substantial difference between the pervasive, canonical parallelism in the Russian oral tradition and the optional parallelistic constructions which occur in Old Russian literature, partly under the influence of the Psalter. Cf. D. S. Lixačev, 'Stilističeskaja simmetrija v drevnerusskoj literature', *Problemy sovremennoj filologii* (Moscow, 1965).

⁴³ Samuel R. Driver, *An introduction to the literature of the Old Testament* 364 (New York, 1922).

first paragraph. The repeated apostrophe is similar to the predominant type of monostichs observed by Steinitz (§§12, 14), which consist of a noun in the nominative with its apposition. Most frequently such substantives are 'proper names, personal or mythological', and *góre gorevân'ice* approaches the latter category.⁴⁴ The syntactic independence of lines 1 and 2 focuses attention on the internal structure of the verse and primarily on the parallelism of its hemistichs. The evocation of Grief, destined to become the chief actor in the song, opens its first line, and the internal parallelism is reinforced by the reduplication *góre góre* and by the etymological figure (paregmenon) which links the apposition *gorevân'ice* to its head word *góre*.⁴⁵ Tautological variations of this noun are usual in Russian emotive speech: *góre gór'koe*, *góre gorjúčee*, *góre-górjuško*, etc.; *Povest'*: 296 *Govortí sero góre gortńskoe*. The denominative verb *gorevát'* 'to grieve' from *góre* 'grief' gave in turn a deverbative noun *gorevân'e* 'grieving', used here in its diminutive form *gorevân'ice*, which opposes to the virtual nomen agentis a somewhat softened or even caressing nomen actionis. Thus the tinge of oxymoron evidenced by the following verses is prompted from the beginning. Anyone who knows Sergej Esenin's poetry can immediately grasp why this self-contradictory phrase was to become his favorite catchword (*eseninskoe slovo*).⁴⁶

The nominative *góre*, linked by a paregmenon with the derived, likewise nominative form *gorevân'ice* of the same line, is on the other hand connected by a polyptoton with the locative *v góre* which occupies the same metrical position in the second line as the initial *góre* in the first line. Grief, to be portrayed as an invincible evil power in the finale of the song, is rather minimized in its opening lines, which turn this apparition (*góre-góre*) first into a mere status (*gorevân'ice*) and then into a simple adverbial modifier of manner (*v góre*). This gradual weakening of the sorrowful topic is used to justify the oxymoron *2 v góre žít'*—*nekručínnu býť* 'to live in grief—to be unchagrined'.

Gore-kručna, *s górja*—*s kručínny* frequently occur in Russian, as coupled synonyms; cf. *Povest'* 358: *u górja u kručínny*. The confrontation of antonyms is a salient device of parallelism. These 'straightforward parallels' in Kúkaï's nomenclature occupy the first place among his 29 types of parallelism and are recommended by him for beginners' practice before trying other kinds.

⁴⁴ About *Gore* as 'a mythological creature' in the *Povest'* and in songs see N. I. Kostomarov, 'O mifičeskom značenii Gorja-Zločastija', *Sovremennik* 59:10.113-24 (1856), and William Harkins, 'The mythic element in the tale of Gore-Zločastie', *For Roman Jakobson* 201-12 (The Hague, 1956). The two synonyms *gore* 'grief' and *zločastie* 'misfortune' are bound by the conjunction *i* 'and' in the title of the *Povest'* merely to reinforce the meaning of the pair: 292 *A mne, górju i zločastiju, ne v pusté že žít'*. Cf. A. P. Evgen'eva, op.cit. 271. The second synonym is in apposition to the former (273 *podslúšalo góre-zločastie*; 394 *utěšil on góre-zločastie*), changeable into an epithet—378, 438, 463 *góre zločástnoe*—or inversely—351 *zločastie gortńskoe*—or into a simple adjective: 298, 315 *Ino ZLo to gore IZLukavilos'* and 432 *a čto ZLOe gore napered'* *ZašLO*. On the other hand, coupled synonyms split easily into two independent personae: 280 *i já iz, góre, peremúdrilo*, 281 *učínisja im zločastie velikoe*; or 288 *i já ot nix, góre, minoválosja*, 289 *a zločastie na ix v [sic] mogile ostálosja*.

⁴⁵ Austerlitz, 80, outlines an 'important sub-class' of unpaired lines 'which contain the etymological figure'.

⁴⁶ See A. B. Nikitina, 'Iz vospominanij Anatolija Mariengofa', *Russkaja literatura* 7:4.158 (1964).

Antonymy connects both hemistichs in lines 2, 3 and 6, 7 and is represented in this pair of distichs by two different kinds of opposition.⁴⁷ The hemistichs within 2 and 3 juxtapose contradictories, whereas antonymy of the hemistichs in 6 and 7 is built on contraries: 6 *plešátomu* : *kudrjávomu*, 7 *guljáščemu* : *bogátomu*.⁴⁸ As Harkins pointed out, *góre* 'represents a physical condition', while *kručína* 'is the corresponding psychological state' (202). The possibility or even necessity of subjective unconcern for a disappointing reality is deliberately proclaimed in lines 2 and 3 as a unity of contradictories in sharp contradistinction to the incompatibility of contraries advanced in 6 and 7. *Nekručínnu* could easily be replaced by *véselu* 'cheerful' or *rádostnu* 'joyous' (cf. *Povešt' 194: kručínovat, skórben, nerádosten*), but the gradual, smooth transition from the initial bravado to the theme of inevitable doom requires single negative terms, and the litotes which concludes both 2 and 3 and takes an intermediate place between the attenuating *goreván'ice* (a typical 'minution', or 'meiosis', in terms of Latin and Greek rhetoric) and the increasingly negative wording of the further maxims.⁴⁹

Lines 4 and, in reverse order, 5 play with two opposites: absence and presence of money. The lack of means is treated as a contradictory in the first line of this distich and as a contrary in the second: 4 *déneġ nétu* 'no money' and 5 *zlými dní* 'penury' (cf. the two parallel antitheses of contradictories joined in the proverb *Dén'gi k bogátomu, zlydni k ubógomu*). Thus line 4 joins the preceding verses built on contradictories, while line 5 shares the use of contraries with the next distich. The constant alternation of opposites enunciated in the distich 4-5 is an intermediate link between lines 2 and 3, with their comforting unity of opposites, and the gloomy, irreconcilable contrariness of hemistichs within 6 and 7. The second hemistich of 4—*pered dén'gami*—is akin to the cheerful ends of 2 and 3, whereas the dismal portent—*pered zlými dní*—ties line 5 to the subsequent pessimistic propositions.

In the distich 2-3 both lines, and within each line both hemistichs, are syntactically and morphologically parallel. All four hemistichs finish with (or consist of) an infinitive in a similar syntactic function. In Russian the traditional juxtaposition *žit' da býť* is brought about by the semantic affinity of the verbs, by their homoioteleuton, and by the formula *žil byl*, which is a reinterpreted vestige of the pluperfect. A certain contrast of parallel forms is introduced by the copulative use of 2 *být'* in contrast to the strictly lexical, notional verbs 2 *žit'* and 3 *stydítisja*. The reflexive voice of the last of these is another variational element. The parallelism is supported 1) by the negation *ne*, which opens the second hemistich in both lines, 2) by phonemic similarity between the beginnings

⁴⁷ Their difference with regard to Chinese has been aptly discussed by Janusz Chmielewski, 'Język starochiński jako narzędzie rozumowania', *Sprawozdania z prac naukowych Wydziału I PAN*, 125 ff. (1964). Cf. Tchang Tcheng-Ming, op.cit. 78-83.

⁴⁸ Both Lowth, xx, in application to the Proverbs of Solomon, and following him Davis, 412, with regard to Chinese maxims, observed that antithetic parallelism 'is peculiarly adapted ... to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences.' Their 'elegance, acuteness, and force', according to Lowth, 'arise in a great measure from the Antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment.'

⁴⁹ Cf. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* 1. §§259, 586-8 (Munich, 1960); J. Gonda, op. cit. 93 ff.

of these lines: /AVGÓr'e ~ /NAGÓmu/, and 3) by the /i/ in all five of the other stressed syllables and the same sequence /d'it'/ in both hemistichs of 3 (/xod'fr' ~ /stid'fr'isa/). In the proverb cited by Dal' this sound figure is replaced by the correspondence /nagómu/ ~ /soróm'itca/. The positionally congruent and phonemically identical stressed syllables of 2 *v góre* and 3 *nagómu* belong to syntactically equivalent terms; both of them are adverbial modifiers in infinitive clauses. The grief imagery employed by the first line of the distich is matched in the second by the similar and contiguous motif of poverty (cf. the proverb *Lixo žit' v núže, a v góre i togó xúže*) and particularly by a synecdochic image of nakedness. The semantically significant correspondence between *góre* and *nagómu* receives an analogous paronomastic treatment in the *Povesi'*: 311 /ZANAGím TO GÓr'e n'epogÓN'itca/, 312 /da n'IKTÓ KNAGÓmu n'ep'iv'ážetca/.

The distich 2-3 exhibits, as Hightower terms it (65), a 'double parallelism' in combining the mutual symmetry of lines with the internal symmetry of their hemistichs. These two forms of parallelism are complemented by a third and even wider correspondence between the second hemistich in the first line of this distich and the first hemistich in its second line: 2 *nekručínnu být'* and 3 *nagómu xodit'* form a close morphologic anadiplosis, whereas on this grammatical level the congruence of both hemistichs within each line and of the corresponding hemistichs within the distich is chiefly epiphoric (e.g. 3 *nagómu* finds no morphologic equivalent either in the second hemistich of the same line or in the first hemistich of 2).

The anadiplosis (*styk* in Russian terminology), customary in the *byliny* and other kinds of Russian folk poetry, turns the second half of the couplet into a sort of sequel to its first half: the man who appears lighthearted in grief may afford to stroll in rags without any embarrassment.⁵⁰ The corresponding distich of the *Povesi'*—366 *a v góre žit'—nekručínnu být'*, *a krúčínnu v góre—pogínuti* 'And (if one is) to live in grief—(he has) to be unchagrined, And (if) chagrined in grief—(one has) to perish'—constructed on chiasitic antonyms (*žit'* ~ *pogínuti*; *nekručínnu* ~ *kručínnu*), rationalizes the antecedent line by a causal motivation: 'because otherwise one would perish'.

In the distich 4-5 the second hemistich of both lines consists of the same preposition *pered* followed by an instrumental plural form. This morphologic and phonemic correspondence—/D'ÉN'gam'I/ ~ /zlím'I DN'í/—is reinforced by the paronomasia /D'ÉN'gi/ ~ /D'ÉN'/, /DN'í/.⁵¹ Both hemistichs of 4 are tied together by the polyptoton *déneg* / *dén'gami*. The first, mutually antithetic hemistichs of 4 and 5 contain the synonyms *dén'gi* and *grúna* (pars pro toto). The metathetic sound figures within these hemistichs—4 /d'ÉN'ek N'Étu/,

⁵⁰ Cf. in Kirša's *bylina* on Vol'x Vseslav'evič: *A vtápory knjaginja ponós poneslá, || ponós poneslá i ditjá rodilá*. Šafanov compares this construction to a link of a chain which is in contact with both the foregoing and the following ring (85).

⁵¹ Another paronomastic association—linking three odd hemistichs—may be suspected here: 2/AVGÓr'e/ ~ 3/NAGÓmu/ ~ 5/GR'ívna/. In this connection Saussure's precept might be recalled: 'Mais si ce doute peut à tout instant s'élever, de ce qui est le mot-thème et de ce qui est le groupe répondant, c'est la meilleure preuve que tout se répond d'une manière ou d'une autre dans les vers ...'; see Jean Starobinski, 'Les anagrammes de Ferdinand de Saussure', *Mercure de France* 255 (1964).

5 /pojav'flas gr'fvna/—conform to the chiasitic character of the whole distich.⁵² Among the first seven lines of the song the fifth is the only one devoid of internal parallelism. This deficiency is compensated for by the exceptional cohesion of both hemistichs through two pairs of identical stressed vowels: two /i/ ~ two /i/. The sameness of all vowel phonemes under stress characterizes also the surrounding lines—4, 6, and 7—but in these the number of stressed vowels is limited to three: two /é/ + one /é/ in 4; two /á/ + one /á/ in both 6 and 7.

In the distich 6–7 the second line fully matches the first in syntax and morphology. Each contains the negation *ne* and the infinitive *byvát'* followed by two masculine adjectives in the dative case. The grammatical parallelism of both hemistichs is built on these adjectives, which are morphologically equivalent but have dissimilar syntactic functions. The four dative forms are interconnected by chiasitic rhymes, 6 *plešátomu* ~ 7 *bogátomu* and 6 *kudrjávomu* ~ 7 *guljáščemu*; in the second pair the pretonic /u/ is preceded by an initial velar stop and the stressed /á/ is preceded by a palatalized liquid. The semantic interconnection of both lines consists in the parallel reference to the incompatibility of two contraries, and while the contrariness of 'bald' and 'curly' appears self-evident, the more oblique antithesis of 'idle' and 'rich' is corroborated by the formal parallelism with the antecedent line. The corresponding passage in the *Povest'* impairs the formal parallelism and the typical folklore play on antonyms, and changes the distich into a moralizing lesson: 410 *ne byvátí brážniku bogátu*, 411 *ne byvátí kostarjú v sláve dóbroj* 'No way for a reveler to be rich, No way for a dice player to have a good name'.

Both lines of the distichs 8–9 and 10–11 exhibit an identical syntactic combination of the same morphologic categories. Genders are the only admitted variables, and this variation is constantly utilized: inanim. neut. *déřeva* ~ anim. masc. *kónja*; the exceptional anim. neut. *ditjá* ~ inanim. masc. *atlásu*; anim. fem. *máteri* ~ anim. masc. *mátera*.

Each distich alternates two grammatical objects, one of which refers to the animate and one to the inanimate world, and all four metaphoric images play up the theme of the hero's gloomy destiny: 8 and 9 deal with the incurability of morbid organisms, both characterized by compound adjectives with the same first component *suxo-* 'dry-'; 10 and 11 equate the child deprived of a mother with a precious cloth left without any master, and the sound texture underscores the intimacy of both absent ties by a childishly tinged accumulation of palatalized dentals—/n'e ut'éšit'i d'it'á b'ez mát'er'i/⁵³—and by the paronomastic make-up of the second line: 11 /n'eskroít' atlásu b'ezmást'era/. Most probably, the wording of this line in the *Povest'*—408 /što n'e klást'i skarlátu b'ez mást'era/ 'that there is no way to cut scarlet without a master'—reflects the original wording of the verse in question. Ržiga claims that these two lines in Kirša's song 'by themselves are startling, because it is incomprehensible why they refer to the child, to the mother, and to satin' (313). He believes to have

⁵² Herrman Weyl, *Symmetry* 43 (Princeton, 1952) defines this device as 'reflexive congruence'.

⁵³ The older form in the *Povest'*, 409 /d'et'át'i/, must have belonged to the original version of this line.

found the explanation in the *Povest'* where the lad introduces this distich by recollecting how in childhood he had been dressed up and admired by his mother. Yet this psychological justification of the two typical metaphorical lines, which are firmly parallel on the grammatical, semantic, and phonemic levels (/d'it'Á B'EZMÁT'ER'i/ ~ /atlÁsu B'EZMÁST'ERA/) and which appear inseparably linked with the entire context of Kirša's song, obviously presents a secondary contrivance alien to the oral tradition and apparently inserted by the seventeenth-century writer and reader.

The parallelism of contiguous hemistichs is particularly distinct in the distich 2-3 with its double infinitives in each line. The second pair of conditional sentences with its chiasmic composition underlies the inner symmetry of the distich 4-5. Within the next three distichs each of the six lines contains only one clause, but distributes two morphologically equivalent forms between its two hemistichs: the two adjectival datives in 6 and 7, the genitives of the object and of the 'predicative attribute' in 8 and 9 (*déveva suxovérxogo, kónja suxopárogo*),⁵⁴ and the genitives—one with and the other without a preposition—in 10 and 11 (*dítjá bez máteri, atlÁsu bez mástera*).

The two paragraphs of the song differ manifestly in their grammatical composition. The first paragraph (lines 1-11) contains ten infinitives and only one finite verb (the preterit 5 *pojavílas'*) against nine finite forms and no infinitives in the second paragraph (12-21). There are no pronouns in §I, and five personal pronouns in §II. Aside from the three nominatives in the 'anacrusic' introductory line to each of the two paragraphs (1 and 12), ten nominatives—five substantival and five pronominal—occur in §II and only one in §I: 5 *pojavílas' gríuna* 'a coin appeared' (in order to be devoured by penury). Throughout the five couplets of §I this is the only clause which is not ostensibly negative. The negative character of the discourse gradually intensifies. The negated adjective at the end of 2 is followed by the negated verb at the end of 3 (a special negation by a nexal negative, in Otto Jespersen's terms). In the first hemistich of 4 the negation *nétu* functions as predicate, and 5, as mentioned earlier, may be defined as implied negation. All the sentences of lines 6-11 begin with the negation *ne*; moreover lines 10 and 11 introduce their second hemistich with the negative preposition *bez* 'without'.

In §I eight adjectives are used; six of them appear without any substantive and two act as postposed predicative attributes, whereas all three adjectives of §II are prepositive epithets.

In §I all seven verbs of the first three distichs are intransitive in contradistinction to the four transitive verbs of the other two distichs. The four infinitives of the latter distichs are perfective, while all six infinitives of the former distichs are imperfective. Each line of the five distichs designates the relation between a certain condition and its result, either patently, in the asyndetic conditional sentences of the first two distichs, or latently, in the three further distichs marked by six anaphoric negations (if one is bald, then ...; if the tree is dead-topped, then ...; if the child has no mother, then ...). While all the lines of the

⁵⁴ *Opredelenie attributivno-predikativnoe*, in terms of A. A. Šaxmatov, *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka*² 393 f. (Leningrad, 1941).

three initial distichs put the protasis into their first hemistich and the apodosis into the second, the last two distichs invert this order. The infinitive constructions of these two distichs omit the agent but consistently designate the patient by the genitive case of substantives. No substantives, but only dative forms of adjectives are combined with the intransitive infinitives of the preceding distichs.

Besides the nominative, the marked cases are differently distributed in the two paragraphs of Kirša's song. The accusative, absent from §I, is represented in §II by three prepositional constructions with nouns and their adjective attributes. There is no dative in §II, while in §I this case appears six times and is monopolized by independent adjectives, which in turn occur solely in the dative case. The instrumental figures in each paragraph only with a preposition in §I, and only without one in §II. The genitive takes part in negative constructions of §I five times without and twice with a preposition, whereas in §II—aside from the adverbialized *prežde věk*—this case figures once in participative meaning and three times with the preposition *ot* 'from'. The only instance of the locative in the song, *2 v góre*, confronted with the nominative *1 góre-góre*, carries the syntactic and morphologic contrast between these two cases, one compulsorily prepositional and the other always prepositionless.

No events are reported in §I; its sole topic is explicitly negative situations perpetually returning (4-5) or necessarily inferred from unhappy premises. The independent infinitives, either directly negated or accompanied by negatives, assert intolerability, inconceivability, impossibility.⁵⁵ The person involved in these infinitive constructions is introduced by the multiple dative forms as a mere addressee of the verdicts pronounced; he remains unnamed and merely qualified by adjectives. When, in the last two distichs of this paragraph, genuine transitive actions are introduced, no actor is revealed; only their goal is designated by metaphorical nouns. The virtual completion of these perfectivized actions is negated, and their goals bear the severe genitive of negation which in general dominates the nouns throughout all the distichs of §I; the accidental, ephemeral *grúna* is the only exception among the nouns individualized by the singular number, whereas plurals emerge in the marginal instrumental case with the anticipatory preposition *pered*. The grammatical imagery of grim devastation reaches its culmination.

In contradistinction to the sententious style of §I, the first distich of §II immediately starts a new, narrative tone. Each of the paralleled clauses contains a noun in the nominative as its subject and a verbal predicate with a modifier in the instrumental case. Number serves as an expressive variable: the plural of all three words in 14 (*močálami nógi izopútany*) is opposed to the singular of the corresponding forms in 13 (*lýkom góre podpojásalos'*), and this variation is supplemented by the difference between two kindred verbal voices—the reflexive and the passive. Both synecdochic expressions of misery (*nagotá i bosotá bezmérnaja* 'an infinite want of apparel and footwear') are linked by contiguity and similarity. The traditional association between both instru-

⁵⁵ A. M. Peškovskij, *Russkij sintaksis v naučnom otnošenii* 381 f. (Moscow, 1956), would ascribe to the infinitive clauses in 2-3 'a connotation of subjective necessity' and in 6-11 'a connotation of objective necessity'.

mentals is attested by the folk proverb *Lýki da močály, a tudá ž pomčáli*. The symmetrical imagery of this distich reappears in the various songs of the same cycle surveyed by Ržiga, whereas the *Povest'* violates the grammatical and lexical parallelism and weakens the portrayal of the *góre* by substituting a negative clause for the suggestive features which serve in folk poetry to achieve the personification of grief: 361 *bóso, nágo, nēt na góre ni nítóčki*, 362 *ešče lýkom góre podpojásano*.

Both paragraphs of Kirša's song begin with the same monostich and present an obvious correspondence between their initial distichs. In particular the merging of grief and poverty stressed in 2-3 inspires the images of 13-14, where the misery of the griever is transferred, however, by a metonymical trope from the griever to the grief itself. Aleksandr Puškin, an attentive reader of Kirša's songs, singled out the figurative expression *lýkom góre podpojásalos'* as a 'striking representation of misery'.

The second line of this distich says, ambiguously, *nógi* without any possessive; 'grief's feet' would create a violent catachresis, while 'griever's feet' would hamper the gradual introduction of 'fictio personae'. The personification actually proceeds step by step. Line 13 is the first to present grief as an actor by providing *góre* with a predicate, but this preterit of neuter gender underscores the neuter—a preeminently inanimate gender—of the subject. This gender is focused on by all three words of this line, including the neuter modifier *lýkom*, against the background of the pervading feminine in 14 *močálami nógi izopútany*. Only the further sentences with the subject *góre* will replace the neuter reflexive 13 *podpojásalos'* by the masculine active 16, 18 *zašél*; as a further step in this activation, the predicates to *góre* will be expressed by transitive verbs, 20 *vstrečáet* 'meets' and *taščít* 'draws'. The climax is attained with the substitution of the masculine pronoun *ón* for *góre* at the very end of the final line.

The relation between lines 12 and 13 demands closer examination. In the reduplicated *góre góre* which opens the introductory line to both paragraphs, the first of the two identical words, 1 /GÓR'Ė gór'e/ stands in positional correspondence to 2 /VGÓR'Ė/, whereas it is the second occurrence in line 12 that corresponds to 13 /lýkom GÓR'Ė/. This divergence prompts a different phrasing of lines 1 and 12. In 1 and the subsequent lines, the boundary (|) between the two 'speech measures'⁵⁶ lies between the second and third of the three main accents, and thus coincides with the boundary (|) of the two hemistichs: 1 *a i góre góre* || *gorevín'ice!* || 2 *a v góre žít'* || *nekručtinnu býť*, || 3 *nagómu xodít'* || *ne stydítisja*. || etc. In 13 and 14, on the other hand, the boundary between the two speech measures does not coincide with the boundary between the two hemistichs. In these lines the modifiers 13 *lýkom* and 14 *močálami* are placed before the subjects 13 *góre* and 14 *nógi* and thus are separated from the predicates 13 *podpojásalos'* and 14 *izopútany*. This hyperbaton (separation of two syntactically connected words) means that the speech-measure boundary falls between the modifier and the subject, i.e. between the first and the second of the three principal accents. Such phrasing then spreads to the introductory line as well:

⁵⁶ See R. Jakobson, *Selected writings* 1.535 (The Hague, 1962).

12 *a góre*, | *góre* | *gorevǎn'ice*, || 13 *a i lýkom* | *góre* | *podpojásalos'*, || 14 *močál'mi* | *nógi* | *izopútany*. ||

The root of *góre* or the whole word thrice repeated, either literally or with synonymous variations, is customarily tied to the same context within folk songs of like tenor. For instance, Sreznevskij's record of the grief song states: *K emu góruško, góre gór'koe*, || *iz-pod móstičku góre, s-pod kalínovogo*, || *iz-pod kústyšku, s-pod rakítovogo*, || *vo otópočkax góre vo lozóven'kix*, || *vo obóročkax góre vo močál'nen'kix*; || *močáloj góre priopútavši*, || *ono lýkom góre opojásavši*.⁵⁷ In one variant from the Saratov region the corresponding passage reads: *Oj ty, góre moe, góre, góre séroe*, || *lýčkom svjázannoe, podpojásannoe*, and in a different Saratov variant: *Ox ti, góre, toská-pečál'*.⁵⁸ Cf. the traditional formula: *Ax ja bédnaja gorjúša goregór'kaja*.⁵⁹

While at the beginning of Kirša's song the threefold evocation of *góre* acts as a syntactically separate apostrophe, in §II the same sequence reappears as an anticipatory, repetitive subject in respect to the clause 13 *góre podpojásalos'*. Whatever might have been the original wording of 11 (see above), Kirša's variant displays a paronomastic bond between 11 /*ATLÁsu*/ and 13 /*potpojÁSALOS*/; bark supersedes the precious satin.

Góre of line 1 was responded to by the degrading 2 *v góre* and remained unnamed in the further lines of §I, whereas in §II almost every line is permeated with this noun. The metrical place of the nominative *góre*, which line 13 shares with the SECOND *góre* in 12, is maintained by the genitive 15, 17, 19 *górja*, while the nominative 16, 18, 20 *góre* in turn shares its position with the INITIAL *góre* in 12.

A far-reaching symmetry interconnects both paragraphs. Their initial distichs, in conformity with the terminal diminutive *gorevǎn'ice* of the introductory line, attempt to minimize the grief. The griever and pauper seems to disregard his grief and misery; they are subject to raillery (2-3), and poverty is said to be just as transitory as wealthiness (4-5). It is not the griever but grief itself which turns out to be miserable (13-14). These endeavors to dismiss the tragic topic yield in both paragraphs to six-line groups with desperate avowals of ubiquitous and perpetual damnation. An anaphoric constant fastens together all the lines of each hexastich; in the string 6-11 every line begins with the negation *ne* attached to an infinitive, and in the string 15-20 with the repetitive conjunction *a* succeeded by a nominative.⁶⁰ The same connective *a*, alone or combined with *i*, opens the monostich of both paragraphs and also each separate distich outside these serried hexastichs, whereas the second line of every separate distich is devoid of connectives. The double connective *a i* and the single *a* display a regular alternation: 1 *a i*, 2 *a*, 4 *a i*, 12 *a*, 13 *a i*, 15-20 *a*.

The hexastich 15-20 is built on the parallelism of three entire distichs. 'Parallel terms in alternate lines' occupy the second position in Kūkai's classification. All

⁵⁷ V. I. Varencov, *Sbornik russkix duzovnyx stixov* 131 (St. Petersburg, 1860).

⁵⁸ A. I. Sobolevskij, *Velikorusskie narodnye pesni* 1.533, 536 (St. Petersburg, 1895).

⁵⁹ F. M. Istomin and G. O. Djutš, *Pesni russkogo naroda* 60 (St. Petersburg, 1894).

⁶⁰ See A. B. Šapiro, *Očerki po sintaksisu russkix narodnyx govorov* 71 (Moscow, 1953).

three odd lines of the hexastich share their initial hemistich 15, 17, 19 *a já ot góřja* and the grammatical pattern of the second hemistich—the locational preposition 15, 17 *v* or 19 *na* with a noun in the accusative preceded by its epithet. All three even lines of the hexastich begin with *a góre* and end with a finite verb: 16 *zašél* ~ 18 *sídlí* ~ 20 *taščít*. Thus the three odd lines of the hexastich on the one hand and its three even lines on the other are tied together by two kinds of correspondences: the anaphoric parallelism is literally repetitive, whereas the epiphoric parallelism is based on mere similarity of grammatical and lexical meanings.

Lines 18 and 20 have a finite form at the end of both hemistichs and thus display an internal parallelism; in 16 the end of the first hemistich is apparently missing, and one may guess that here, as in the two other even lines, the hemistich contained a complete clause, e.g., *a góre [už tám]*, —.⁶¹

This hexastich explicitly disjoins the griever and the grief. The first, repeated hemistich of the odd lines—*a já ot góřja*—suggests an interplay of two different semantic interpretations: ‘afflicted by’ and ‘away from’ grief. In the proverb *Ot góřja bežál, da v bedú popál* ‘ran away from grief but got into trouble’ the abstract meaning of ‘grief’ is supported by its juxtaposition with ‘trouble’, and the concrete predicates function here as verbal metaphors. The directional modifiers ‘into forests’, ‘to a feast’, ‘into a tavern’ would still allow the conception of grief as the griever’s status, but the even lines definitely impute personality to *góre*. The polyptotic confrontation of the genitivus separationis 15, 17, 19 *ot góřja* and of the nominative 16, 18, 20 *góre* introduces a shrill semantic antithesis of the flight from grief and into the arms of the omnipresent grief. Line 18, *a góre zašél—vperedí sídlí*, is particularly characteristic in its ‘bifunctionalism’: *vperedí* means simultaneously priority in time and in rank (*mestničestvo*).⁶² The vicious circle traced in each of the three distichs is preluded by the grammatical antonymy between the hemistichs of each odd line, which oppose the genitive *ot góřja* in its ablative function to the allative function of the accusatives *v lesá*, *na pír*, *v kabák*. In §I the parallelism of hemistichs is antonymic in contradistinction to the synonymic parallelism of lines; in the hexastich of §II the correspondence between alternating lines is synonymic while between adjacent lines it is antonymic. As to the parallelism of hemistichs in this hexastich, it is synonymic within the even lines and antonymic within the odd lines.⁶³

The organic parts of this threefold parallel structure, with their increasing

⁶¹ Another possible conjecture is *a góre přéžde <da v> věk zašél* ‘and grief came beforehand and forever’; then the parallelism of the hemistichs would rest on the two temporal adverbs *préžde* and *věk* (*vověk?* *navěk?*). Cf. the corresponding expression in the *Povest’*, 437 *ne na čas ja k tebe góre zločastnoe privjazálosja*, and in the lyric-epic song of the grief cycle recorded by A. F. Hilferding, *Onežskie bylíny*³, 2 No. 177 (St. Petersburg, 1896): *i ne na čas ja k tebe góre privjazálosi* and *a j tut ná věk góre rosstaválosi*.

⁶² Cf. the allusion in the *Povest’*: at the feast the lad was seated 181 *ne v ból’šee mesto*, *ne v mén’šee*.

⁶³ Robert Austerlitz, ‘Parallelismus’, *Poetics Poetyka Poëtika* (Warsaw, 1961), states: ‘Die Spannung, welche zwischen synonymen oder antonymen Parallelwörtern herrscht, verleiht dem Text eine Art von semantischen Rhythmus’ (441). The tension between parallelled synonyms AND antonyms plays in turn an effective part.

tensity and the image of the tavern as the last attempted refuge, appear to be scattered and disparate throughout the *Povesť*; cf. 170 *přišel molodéc na čestn pír* and 305 *Ty pojdi, molodéc, na carév kabák*; also 353 *Ino kínus' ja mólodec v bystrú rekú*.

The scene of action is determined and delimited by three ablative prepositional constructions with genitives and by three allative, likewise prepositional constructions with accusatives which are additionally characterized by epitheta ornantia. The paragraph is rich in grammatical subjects and, after having introduced two nouns with verbal predicates, it inaugurates the hexastich with the nominative *já* 'I' in a reiterative verbless phrase—the first instance of a pronoun in the song. The predicates of *góre* in §II progressively enlarge the designated sphere and effect of action; from the reflexive (13) they pass to the active voice (16–20) and from the perfective preterit (13, first half of 18) to the imperfective present which denotes actions of limitless unfolding (second half of 18, 20). The intransitive verbs (13–18) yield to two transitive verbs (20), the first of which appears without an object (*vstrečáet*), while the second governs a partitive genitive (*píva taščít*). No direct accusative object finds a place in the song, whereas the image of grief's complete dominance over the lad is familiar to the *Povesť*: 349 *Axti mné, zločástie gorínskoe!* 350 *do bedý menja mólodca domýkalo*, 351 *umóřilo menja mólodca smért'ju golódnoju*. The shift from intransitive to transitive verbs again draws together the ends of both paragraphs.

The middle one of the three main accents falls on /o/ in all verses from 12 to 19 except the defective 16: 12, 13 *góre* ~ 14 *nógi* ~ 15, 17 *górja* ~ 18 *zaščél* ~ 19 *górja*. A relation of mirror symmetry ties together the first line of the hexastich with the first line of the separate distich in their sound texture—13 /l'fkom GÓR'e potpoJÁSaloS/ ~ 15 /JÁ odGÓR'a ft'emní/. The last word of 13, paronomastically linked with 11 (as shown above), is echoed by the final words of the two following lines—13 /POTPOJÁSALOŠ/ ~ 14 /izOPÚtani/ ~ 15 /L'esÁ/.

The consistent gradation of grief's activity finds eloquent expression in the lexical and phonemic distribution throughout the hexastich. The two margins of 16—a *góre* ... *zaščél*—are reiterated and condensed in the first hemistich of 18—a *góre zaščél*—while the second hemistich, united by the repetition of its stressed syllable—/fp'er'ed'f s'ip'tf/—is echoed by the double /i/ in the corresponding hemistich of 20—p'fva taščít/. The stressed vowels of the thrice repeated hemistich a *já ot górja* are reversed in the second half of 19 *na carév kabák* and again in the adjacent hemistich of 20 a *góre vstrečáet*: /áá/ ~ /áá/ ~ /áá/.

The concluding monostich of the song, 21 *kák ja nág to stál, nasmejálsja ón*, differs grammatically and (see below) also metrically from the rest of the text; namely, it encompasses two different subjects with two different predicates, which are the only hypotactic clauses in the song, and the final word of this line is the sole anaphoric pronoun. This pairless line exhibits an internal chiasmic parallelism: in the first hemistich the subject is followed and in the second one preceded by a perfective masculine preterit.

The sound texture ties the finale with the initial line of the adjacent distich: 19 /kabák/ ~ 21 /kák já nák/; and both hemistichs of the terminal line are manifestly interconnected: /JÁ NÁK to stÁL/ ~ /NASm'eJÁLSa/. In general the

confrontation of the two hemistichs is particularly prominent in this independent line. For the first time the subjects designating both heroes appear in close juxtaposition. Their inequality is apparent. *Ja*, in contradistinction to *ón*, fills an upbeat and belongs to a subordinate clause. Only here does *ja* serve as part of a verbal clause, but this verb in turn is a mere copula which endows the subject with a new predicate adjective, whereas seven autonomous notional verbs relate as predicates to 'grief'. No verbs of action and no nouns are assigned in the song to its sole human hero, whose lyric ego finds its peculiar expression in the impersonal gnomic distichs of §I and then in the epic, self-effacing story of persecution. Simple finite forms of notional verbs all have third person singular subjects: 5, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21.

The motif of nakedness reappears for the third time: 3 *naǵómu xod'tt* 'to walk naked'; the imagery of undress in 13-14; and now 21 *kák ja náǵ to stál* 'when I became naked'. Whereas originally the naked griever was compelled to deride his own grief and misery, and then later claimed that actually grief was wretched and stripped, now finally grief ('qui rira le dernier') jeers at the divestiture of the miserable griever with a transparent paronomastic reminiscence of the bark girdle: 14 /potpoǵÁSalos/ ~ 21 /naSm'eǵÁLSA/. The circle, opened with the triple apostrophe to *góre*, is closed by the pronoun 21 *ón*, referring to the same fatal apparition.

V

The verse of Kirša's song implements the oral epic meter with its traditional trochaic tendency and six downbeats interlaid with five upbeats.⁶⁴ The initial downbeat with the following upbeat forms the onset (anacrusis) of the line, the final downbeat with the preceding upbeat forms the offset (coda), and the sequence from the first internal downbeat to the last internal downbeat has been termed the verse stem. The weak, external downbeats, i.e. the final beat of the offset, and especially the initial syllable of the onset, are for the most part filled by unstressed or weakly stressed syllables. Of the internal (stem) downbeats the heaviest are the first and the last, both of which are almost constantly implemented by strongly stressed syllables. The regressive undulatory curve inherent in Russian verses regulates the distribution of stresses among the internal downbeats, weakens the next to last and reinforces the second from last, so that the third of the internal downbeats very rarely carries a stressed syllable, and the second of these downbeats is predominantly supplied with a word stress. Hence the first, the second, and the fourth internal downbeats carry the three leading accents of the verse.

Line 1 of Kirša's song—*A i {góre góre gorevǵn'}ice* (with the verse stem enclosed in braces)—strictly follows the outlined metrical design. Of the twenty-one lines, ten maintain the hendecasyllabic pattern, six are reduced to ten syllables, and three to nine; in line 8 a twelfth syllable is inserted, while the octosyllabic line 16 is apparently defective. In the overwhelming majority of lines (14 of 21)

⁶⁴ Cf. R. Jakobson, *Selected writings* 4.434 ff. (The Hague, 1965).

the third of the four internal downbeats is immediately preceded by a word boundary; these lines correspondingly terminate with a five-syllable segment (e.g. *goreván'ice*).

The variations of the metrical design are closely linked with the composition of the song and its division into parallelistic groups of lines. As soon as *grief* is introduced by the first line, every new mention of *góre* or of *ja* in the close neighborhood of *góre* at the beginning of the verse stem emphatically reduces the onset to one syllable: *2 a v góre, 12, 16, 18, 19 a góre, 15, 17, 19 a já ot górja*. The same reduction in *3 nagómu* is engendered by its phonemic parallelism with *2 a v góre*. The rest of the lines preserve the disyllabic onset. In this connection a peculiarity of the Russian verse is to be noted, frequent cases where the syllabic scheme is retained but the stresses deviate from the metrical pattern: *3 nagómu xodít', 8 ne otróstit', 9 ne olkormít' konjá*; here, to be sure, the dialectal accents *otróstit', olkórmít'*, and *kónja* may be assumed,⁶⁵ but a contrived discrepancy between the ictuses and verbal accents must be admitted in such instances as *18 a góre zašél* or the hendecasyllable *20 a góre vstrečáet, píva taščít*, where a scanning would require *goré* and *pivá*.

The three opening distichs of the song are internally cemented and differentiated by dissimilar endings of the initial hemistich. The entire verse pattern of the introductory model line (1) is strictly followed by the second of these three distichs (4-5); the preceding two lines curtail their first hemistich by a masculine close—*2 žít' ~ 3 xodít'*—and correspondingly in the verse end *2 být'*. Conversely, the last of the three distichs expands the first hemistich of both lines to seven syllables by a dactylic close encompassing the third, prefinal downbeat of the verse stem, and correspondingly shortens the second hemistich to four syllables. The following distich returns to the pentasyllabic pattern of the final hemistich, but in 8 nonetheless it maintains the heptasyllabic scheme of the initial hemistich, as prompted by lines 6 and 7, while restoring its hexasyllabic measure in 9. Possibly the first hemistichs in both lines of this distich display also a shift of stresses (cf. above). In the last distich of the first paragraph (10-11) the even hemistich assumes the same tetrasyllabic shape as in the second from last distich (6-7), whereas the next to last (8-9) and third from last (4-5) distichs use the pentasyllabic form. The rhythmic novelty of the distich 10-11 lies in the end of the odd hemistich, which in 10 is the only one throughout the entire song to shift the word stress from the second internal downbeat to the third (*Ne utéšiti díťja*), whereas in 11 the syllable to carry the third internal downbeat is omitted.

The initial, epically tinged distich of the second paragraph (13-14) with its narrative preterit construction—*13 A i lýkom góre podpojásalos'*—follows the standard epic form of the tone-setting line 1 and of the distich 4-5, the only distich in the first paragraph with a verb in the past tense, and develops precisely the closing motif of that distich: the theme of imminent penury. These

⁶⁵ See A. M. Seliščev, *Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri* 137 (Irkutsk, 1920): *róstit'*, etc., and S. P. Obnorskij, *Imennoe sklonenie v sovremennoe russkom jazyke* 1.244 (Leningrad, 1927): *kónja*; *kónju*. A dialectal stress on the desinence is most probable in 14 *močálámí*; cf. Obnorskij, 2.384 ff. (Leningrad, 1931).

two cognate distichs and the expository line 1 are the only ones in the entire song to begin with the anacrusis *a i* (Kirša's manuscript writes *ai*) typical of the *byliny*.

The hexastich 15–20 differs sharply from the preceding text. The final syllable of each of the six lines carries a syntactically relevant word stress, which in five cases falls on disyllabic words, and only once on a monosyllable (17 *pír*). The two examples of final stress in the earlier lines belong to weak monosyllables, virtual enclitics: the copula in 2 *nekručtñnu býť* and the second part of the loose compound *zlydñi* 'penury' which allows a declensional inflection of both components—5 *pered zlymi dnì*.

The reduced onset of these lines and the peculiar tension between the syllabic and accentual pattern were discussed above. The omission of a border syllable between the hemistichs is apparent in lines 15 and 17–19. The high ratio of stressed syllables singles out this hexastich and, even more strikingly, the concluding monostich of the song. Both external downbeats—*kák* and *ón*—are implemented by stressed monosyllables. Three of the eleven syllables carry stressed downbeats in the first line of the song, and five of the ten in its last line. Here Slavic and particularly Russian epic verse, based on internal asymmetry, yields to a perfect metrical parallelism of pentasyllabic hemistichs.⁶⁶ The odd hemistich, consisting exclusively of monosyllables in both downbeats and upbeats—*Kák ja nág to stál* (all five written separately in Kirša's manuscript, where proclitics are always joined to the adjacent word)—signals the denouement of the rhythmic development. The moving force is ebbing, the powerful contrast between tops and slacks is fading. The startling dramatism and picturesque variety of rhythmic figures come abruptly to an end under the murderous raillery of the omnipresent persecutor.

These cursory remarks on the metrical parallelism in Kirša's song could be concluded with a repeated reminder of Hightower's observations on Chinese poetics: 'It is on this underlying pattern or series of patterns that the more subtle forms of grammatical and phonic parallelism introduce their counterpoint, a series of stresses and strains.'

VI

Hightower introduces his tentative translation of Chinese parallelistic compositions by qualifying their reading as an 'exercise in verbal polyphony' (69). 'The extraordinary exuberance in both quantity and variety of the repetitive parallelism of the Song of Deborah' was pointed out in Albright's paper 'The Psalm of Habakkuk' and suspected of going back to a 'Canaanite rococo ... which we may suppose to have been popular about the first half of the twelfth century B.C.'. The 'excessiveness of parallelism and terminal sound correspondences' in the verbal mastery of the narrator (*skazitel'*) Kalinin, whose *byliny* were recorded by Hilferding, suggested to Žirmunskij an association with the baroque style (337). Such examples could be easily multiplied, and they clash with the fictitious but

⁶⁶ Cf. Jakobson, *op. cit.* 425 ff.

still indelible view of parallelism as a survival of a primevally helpless, tonguetied means of expression. Even Miklosich explained the repetitive, parallelistic devices in the Slavic epic tradition by the incapacity of the singer 'des Naturepos' to disengage himself immediately from an idea and by the consequent necessity to utter 'einen Gedanken oder ganze Gedankenreihen mehr als einmal' and referred to the Finnish parallelism as a typical example.⁶⁷

The search for the origin of parallelism in the antiphonal performance of the paired lines is perplexed by the overwhelming majority of parallelistic systems which show no trace of any amoebean technique. The repeated attempts to derive parallelism from a mental automatism which underlies any oral style and from mnemotechnical processes upon which the oral performer is forced to rely⁶⁸ are invalidated on the one hand by the abundance both of entire folk traditions totally unfamiliar with pervasive parallelism and of different poetic genres which within one folklore system are opposed to each other by the presence or absence of this device; on the other hand, such thousands-of-years-old written poetry as that of China adheres to the parallelistic rules which are somewhat relaxed in the native folklore (Jabłoński, 22).

Herder, 'the great advocate of parallelism' according to his own expression (24), resolutely attacked the afterward repeatedly enunciated bias that 'parallelism is monotonous and presents a perpetual tautology' (6) and that 'if everything has to be said twice, then the first saying must have been only half achieved and defective' (21). Herder's succinct reply—'Haben Sie noch nie einen Tanz gesehen?'—followed by a comparison of Hebrew poetry with such a dance, transfers grammatical parallelism from the class of genetic debilities and their remedies into the proper category of purposive poetic devices. Or, to quote another master and theoretician of poetic language, G. M. Hopkins, the artifice of poetry 'reduces itself to the principle of parallelism': equivalent entities confront one another by appearing in equivalent positions.

Any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables. The stricter the distribution of the former, the greater the discernibility and effectiveness of the variations. Pervasive parallelism inevitably activates all the levels of language—the distinctive features, inherent and prosodic, the morphologic and syntactic categories and forms, the lexical units and their semantic classes in both their convergences and divergences acquire an autonomous poetic value. This focusing upon phonological, grammatical, and semantic structures in their multiform interplay does not remain confined to the limits of parallel lines but expands throughout their distribution within the entire context; therefore the grammar of parallelistic pieces becomes particularly significant. The symmetries of the paired lines in turn vivify the question of congruences in the narrower margins of paired hemistichs and in the broader frame of successive

⁶⁷ Franz Miklosich, 'Die Darstellung im slavischen Volksepos', *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Philos.-hist. Cl., 38:3.7 f. (1890).

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Marcel Jousse, *Études de psychologie linguistique—Le style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les verbo-moteurs*, Ch. X, XII, XV-XVIII (Paris, 1925); Gevirtz, *op. cit.* 10.

distichs. The dichotomous principle underlying the distich may develop into a symmetrical dichotomy of much longer strings, like the two paragraphs of Kirša's song.

The pervasive parallelism of oral poetry attains such a refinement in the 'verbal polyphony' and its semantic tension that the myth of primitive poverty and paucity of creativeness once more betrays its unfitness.⁶⁹ Gonda is right when stating that in all these symmetrical compositions 'there is abundant scope for variety' (49). The choice and hierarchy of more bound and of more variable linguistic elements differ from system to system. Conjectural schemes of a gradual decomposition of canonical parallelism on the path from primitivism to highly developed forms are nothing but arbitrary constructs.

The pervasive parallelism used to build up line sequences must be accurately distinguished from single similes carrying the theme of lyric songs. Veselovskij⁷⁰ trenchantly separated the former device, labeled 'rhythmic parallelism' and 'familiar to Hebrew, Chinese, and Finnish poetry', from the latter, which he termed 'psychological' or 'meaningful' (*soderžatel'nyj*) 'parallelism' (142). There are, however, inconsistencies in Veselovskij's delimitation of the different modes of parallelism. Although similes bringing together natural scenery and human life are quite familiar to pervasively parallelistic patterns of poetry, Veselovskij considers any such parallel as a typical specimen of 'meaningful' parallelism, while any 'slackening of intelligible correlations between the components of parallels' is branded as a decadence and decomposition of the originally meaningful parallelism. The claimed result is 'a set of rhythmic sequences without any meaningful correspondence instead of an alternation of internally connected images' (142, 163). Objections inevitably arise against the preconceived idea of a genetic filiation between the two varieties of parallelism, and against Veselovskij's examples of a mere 'rhythmico-musical' balancement, in particular the Chuvash song adduced by him as the chief illustration: 'The billow swells to attain the shore, the girl dresses up to attract the fiancé; the forest grows to become high, the girl friend grows up to be mature, she dresses her hair to be pretty'. Verbs of growth and improvement are presented as goal-directed toward the highest aim. These lines would turn out to be a clear-cut instance of meaningful, metaphoric parallelism if Veselovskij had applied here his sagacious criterion which later on revealed its pertinence in Propp's inquiry into the structural laws of traditional fairy tales:⁷¹ 'What matters is not the IDENTIFICATION of human and natural life, and not the COMPARISON which presupposes a dwelling upon the separateness of things compared, but a JUXTAPOSITION made on the basis of action ... The parallelism of folk songs reposes first and foremost upon the category of action' (131, 157). The parallelistic simile is determined not so much by the participants of the process as by their syntactically expressed interrelation. The Chuvash song discussed is a warning against a disregard for latent congru-

⁶⁹ Cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1962).

⁷⁰ A. N. Veselovskij, 'Psixologičeskij parallelizm i ego formy v otaženijax poëtičeskogo stilja', *Poëtika* 1.130-225 (St. Petersburg, 1913).

⁷¹ V. Ja. Propp, *Morfologija skazki* (Leningrad, 1928). English: *Morphology of the folktale* (Bloomington, Ind., 1958).

ences; invariants hidden from the observer behind the surface variables occupy a significant place in the topology of parallelistic transformations.

With all its intricacy, the structure of parallelistic poetry appears diaphanous as soon as it is submitted to a close linguistic analysis, both of the parallel distichs and of their relationship within a broader context. The hexastich 4:8 in the Song of Solomon, discussed by Bertholet⁷² and Albright,⁷³ is said to contain 'allusions of unmistakably Canaanite mythological origin' and to belong to the most archaic poetic texts of the Bible. The following transcription is accompanied by a translation which nearly coincides with Albright's wording.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ʔittī milləbānōn kallāh | With me from Lebanon, bride, |
| 2. ʔittī milləbānōn tābōʔi | with me from Lebanon come! |
| 3. tāšūri mērōʔš ʔāmānāh | depart from the peak of Amanah, |
| 4. mērōʔš šénir wəḥermōn | from the peak of Senir and Hermon, |
| 5. mimmaʕōnōt ʔārāyōt | from the lairs of lions, |
| 6. mēharərēy nāmērīm | from the mountains of leopards! |

The whole hexastich is cemented by the six occurrences of the preposition 'from' and by a noun as the second word unit of every line. Each of the three distichs has its own conspicuous structural properties. The first is the only one which repeats words in identical metrical positions. The first word pair is echoed in 2, and while the third words of the two lines belong to different parts of speech, they still follow the parallelistic pattern, since both the vocative function of the final noun in 1 and the imperative function of the final verb in 2 represent one and the same conative level of language.⁷⁴ Thus the first distich, alone in this fragment, fulfills the leading scheme of ancient Hebrew parallelism: *abc—abc* (or more exactly *abc¹—abc²*). In a similar way the Russian folk song treats imperatives as parallels to vocative terms; e.g. *Solovėj ty mój solovėjuško!* || *Ne vzvivájstja ty vysokóxon'ko!*⁷⁵ 'Nightingale!' and 'Don't soar!', 'Uncle!' and 'Come!', 'Brother!' and 'Ride!' figure in binary formulas of Russian wedding songs.

All of the next four lines are syntactically united and differ from the first distich by the presence of nouns in the construct state. The second distich displays characteristic shifts in word position. The two verbs of the hexastich stand out vividly against the background of its twelve nouns; both are similar morphologically and syntactically and polar within the same semantic class — 'come' with allative meaning and 'depart' with ablative. Together they build an anadiplosis: the first distich is closed by one verb, and the second opens with the other verb; the former verb is preceded, and the latter followed by a prepositional construction. The medial *mērōʔš* of line 3 is repeated at the beginning of 4. In

⁷² Alfred Bertholet, 'Zur Stelle Hohes Lied 4⁸', *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 33:18.47-53 (1918).

⁷³ W. F. Albright, 'The Psalm of Habakkuk', 7 (see above).

⁷⁴ Cf. Jakobson, 'Linguistics and poetics', 355 (see above): 'Orientation toward the ADDRESSEE, the CONATIVE function, finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and imperative.'

⁷⁵ P. V. Sejn, *Velikorus v svoix pesnjax, obrjadax, obyčajax, verovanijax, skazkax, legendax*, No. 1659 (St. Petersburg, 1900).

this shift the central place occupied by the second distich within the hexastich finds its clear-cut expression: in an interplay of dichotomy with trichotomy the same preposition 'from' which introduces the three final, heptasyllabic, pervasively nominal lines is prefixed to the central word in the three initial, longer lines.

This shift is connected with a significant stylistic feature which Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, going back to the second century A.D., names *dīpaka* 'condensed expression' and ranks together with three other figures of speech—simile, metaphor, and repetition. While discussing typical examples of such sentence contraction skillfully employed in Vedic poetics, Gonda notes that 'if the verbal idea of two successive units is identical the verb is very often omitted' (397 ff., 66, 226).⁷⁶ Precisely such an abbreviated repetition constitutes the biblical 'incomplete parallelisms' in distichs quoted by Neuman (142) from Amos, as for instance 'And-I-raised-up some-of-your-sons for-prophets, || and-some-of-your-youths for-Nazarites.' Obviously, this variety of parallels may be labeled 'incomplete' (*abc-bc*), but only if the elliptic zero-verb (*a*⁰) of lines 4, 5, 6 is not reckoned among the matched terms.⁷⁷ Of course from the metrical point of view line 4 in its relation to 3 would become defective without the 'compensation' provided by the divarication of one noun into two coordinate forms (with the only conjunction in the entire hexastich: *abc¹-bc²c³*), whereas the lines of the third distich remain metrically binomial but syntactically trinomial, including the zero verb: (*tāśūrī*) *mimma¹ōnōt² ?ārāyōt* etc. In just this cleavage between the metrical binomial and the virtual grammatical trinomial lies the particularity of the last distich, which, moreover, opposes its four plurals to the twelve singular forms (five of them proper names) of the first two distichs. The formally identical connection between the head noun and its nominal modifier in the medial and final distichs differs semantically: to the part-whole relation in 3 and 4 the lines 5 and 6 oppose a rapport of dwelling and dwellers.

Finally, each line contains exactly two contiguous constituents which have isosyllabic correspondents in the parallel line, but both their position in the line and their number of syllables change from distich to distich:

I	II	III
2 4 ² ₃	³ ₂ 2 3	4 3

Both syllabic asymmetries—two against three in the first distich, and three against two in the second—rest upon a confrontation of trisyllabic verbs with disyllabic nominal forms.

The striking trait of the sound texture is the profusion of nasals (21) and their symmetrical distribution: three in each of the first three lines, four in each of the three following lines.

Rhyme has been repeatedly characterized as a condensed parallelism, but rigorous comparison of rhyme and pervasive parallelism shows that there is a fundamental difference. The PHONEMIC equivalence of rhyming words is com-

⁷⁶ Cf. Lausberg, op. cit. §737: an isocolon modeled upon the scheme *q(a¹b¹/a²b²)* where *q* designates 'den klammerartigen gemeinsamen Satzteil'.

⁷⁷ R. Jakobson, 'Signe zéro', *Mélanges de linguistique offerts à Charles Bally* 148 f. (Genève, 1939).

pulsory, whereas the linguistic level of any correspondence between two paralleled terms is subject to a free choice. The fluctuating distribution of different linguistic levels between variables and invariants imparts a highly diversified character to parallelistic poetry and provides it with ample opportunities to individualize the parts and to group them with respect to the wholes. Against a background of totally congruent lines, the sporadic concurrence of equivalence on one linguistic level with disagreement on another level acts as a forceful device. In the popular distich of a Russian folk song (Šejn, Nos. 1510, 2128), negative parallelism supplants the image of the trumpet which sounds early in the morning (*ne trúbón'ka trúbít ráno pó utru*) or after the early dew (*ráno pó rose*) by the image of a girl who weeps for her braid (*pláčet ráno pó kose*). Both *po utru* or *po rose* and *po kose* are dative constructions with the same preposition *po*, but their syntactic function is quite different. With another preceding line the same second line appears in a distich quoted by Veselovskij: *Plávala vútica pó rose*, || *plákala Mášin'ka pó kose* 'The duckling swam after the early dew, Mašin'ka wept for her braid' (166). The syntactic parallelism stops at the last word, while there is a complete correspondence in morphologic structure, in the number of syllables, in the distribution of stresses and word boundaries, and moreover a striking phonemic likeness of the two marginal words: *plávala* ~ *plákala*, *pó rose* ~ *pó kose*. Both lines reiterate the consonants /v/ and /k/ which differentiate their initial words: *plávala* ~ *vútica*; *plákala* ~ *Mášin'ka* ~ *pó kose*. The imagery of the former variant, a contrast between auditory images—blowing and weeping—yields here to a customary chain of fluid images: water alluded to by the evocation of the swimming duck, dew, and the girl's tears.

A consistent linguistic analysis of pervasive parallelism cuts down the number of unmatched terms within the distichs; moreover, many of the quasi-unpaired lines prove to correspond with one another. The two terms of syntactic agreement obviously form a cohesive pair. This kind of parallelism, observed by Gevirtz in biblical poetry and termed 'epithetic' (26, 49), is very frequent in Russian folk songs. Evgen'eva cites a typical example: *Záin'ka, popytájsja u vorót*, || *Séren'koj, popytájsja u novýx*, literally 'Hare, try at the gate, Gray, try at the new'. Likewise the governing and governed terms appear to function as symmetrical forms 'when firmly embedded in an otherwise impeccably parallel context', if one may apply Hightower's suitable expression (63) also to such occurrences. Driver's remark about the second line which 'in different ways supplements or completes' the first line of the distich applies to the relation of head-words and their modifiers, but the label 'synthetic or constructive parallelism' which he attaches to this definition figures here in a sense which has nothing in common with the original meaning assigned to the same double term by Lowth and his followers.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Op. cit., 363. 'Climactic' parallelism, as Driver, who launched this term, defines it, appears to be a mere combination of the repetitive form with the above-cited form which in the second line 'completes' the first one. Thus in the example he quotes from Ps. 29.8, 'The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness; || The Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh,' the initial part of the second line catches up the end part of the first line and adds 'of Kadesh'. The repetitive device may be confined either to an anadiplosis, as in the above example, or to an anaphora as in the other instances of 'climactic' parallelism adduced by

A line of two synonymous predicates matched by a line of two nearly synonymous accusatives—a direct object and its apposition—in a distich of a North Russian bride's lament is a typical example of a parallelism based on syntactic government: *Ugljadila, uprimtila* || *Svoegó kormil'cja bátjuška* 'I saw, I sighted My guardian father'.⁷⁹ Another distich with a direct object in its second line does not, however, belong to this type: *Tut sidéla krásna dévica* || *I česála rúsy kóson'ki* 'There was sitting a pretty girl And combing her russet tresses'. Both nouns and their epithets function as morphologic parallels, with a notable equivalence of their two direct cases—the nominative and the accusative.

Not only agreement or government but also the relation between subject and predicate occasionally underlies parallel lines: *K tebé idút da žalujut* || *Tvoi mlye podrúžen'ki* 'Here come and honor you Your dear bridesmaids' (Šejn, No. 1470). On the semantic level, we observed that parallels may be either metaphoric or metonymic, based on similarity and contiguity respectively. Likewise the syntactic aspect of parallelism offers two types of pairs: either the second line presents a pattern SIMILAR to the preceding one, or the lines complement each other as two CONTIGUOUS constituents of one grammatical construction.

Finally, on closer examination an isolated line surrounded by paralleled distichs may turn out to be a 'monomial parallel', according to Veselovskij's seemingly paradoxical designation (205). Such a monostich may reflect either a simile reduced to a bare metaphoric expression with the complete omission of its guessable, usually familiar clue, or a double formula which is reiterated with an elliptic suppression of one of its members. The lamenting bride first addresses her father *Podojdú ja, moloděšen'ka*, || *Ja sprošú, gorjúxa bėnnaja* 'I shall come, I the juvenile, I shall ask, I the poor griever', then turns to her mother with a further lament *Ja eščó, gorjúxa bėnnaja*, || *Pogljažú da, moloděšen'ka* 'Now I shall, I the poor griever, Look about, I the juvenile'; but later when appealing to her brothers and thereafter to her sisters, she contracts the same formula to a single line: *Ja eščó pojdu, moloděšen'ka* 'Now I shall go, I the juvenile' (Sokolov, Nos. 73–76). Such monostichs which lean on a contiguity association with their total context are the utmost abridgements of Bharata's *đipaka* 'condensed expression'.

When listening to a discussion of philologists as to what kind of attributes may in poetry be considered as epithets, Vladimir Majakovskij interjected that for him any attribute whatsoever when appearing in poetry spontaneously becomes an epithet.⁸⁰ In a similar way, any word or clause when entering into a poem built on pervasive parallelism is, under the constraint of this system, immediately incorporated into the tenacious array of cohesive grammatical forms and semantic values. The metaphoric image of 'orphan lines' is a contrivance of a detached onlooker to whom the verbal art of continuous correspondences remains

Driver. The broader conception of the climactic form in C. F. Burney's edition of *The Book of Judges* 169 ff. (London, 1918) will be discussed from a linguistic standpoint by the present author in a different context.

⁷⁹ B. M. and Ju. M. Sokolov, *Skazki i pesni belozerskogo kraja*, Song No. 73 (Moscow, 1915).

⁸⁰ R. Jakobson, *O češskom stize* 105 (Berlin-Moscow, 1923).

aesthetically alien. Orphan lines in poetry of pervasive parallels are a contradiction in terms, since whatever the status of a line, all its structure and functions are indissolubly interlaced with the near and distant verbal environment, and the task of linguistic analysis is to disclose the levers of this coaction. When seen from the inside of the parallelistic system, the supposed orphanhood, like any other componential status, turns into a network of multifarious compelling affinities.⁸¹

⁸¹ Cf. 'Lettres de Ferdinand de Saussure à Antoine Meillet' published by Émile Benveniste, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 21.110 (1964): 'Il est d'emblée accordé que l'on peut se rattraper pour un couple sur le vers suivant, et même sur l'espace de plusieurs vers.'